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World close to war again as U.S. seeks show-down with China

By Kumar Goshal

AT WARSAW and at Formosa, and in the latest Moscow-Washington correspondence, evidence piled up alarmingly last week that the U.S. might be preparing for an armed show-down with the Chinese People's Republic, against the advice of most of its allies and the wishes of the majority of Americans.

Although the Warsaw talks were being conducted behind closed doors, there were plenty of rumors about the U.S. and Chinese positions. Most reliable seemed to be the material in NBC news commentator David Brinkley's Sept. 18 broadcast, which he said "came from high sources in the [U.S.] government." Brinkley said:

"We first told Red China we will agree to nothing until there is a cease-fire. China refused, saying since she is not shooting at Americans, there is no reason for a cease-fire. The Chinese then [said] they will stop the artillery fire if Chiang's forces will leave Quemoy and Matsu. And they will not fire on the ships carrying his troops away.

"[They also offered] a truce if Chiang will move his troops back to Formosa and agree to stop his attacks on the mainland, his hit-and-run raids at night. . . . We refused it [and suggested that] if the Chinese will agree to a truce, we will then in about a year or two try to persuade Chiang to return his armies to Formosa, and Quemoy and Matsu would be neutralized. The Chinese rejected that, [saying] the islands are theirs, they will not agree to neutralizing them."

THE ALTERNATIVES: Brinkley reported that the next U.S. move would be to offer to place Quemoy and Matsu islands under UN trusteeship, which China was certain to reject. Brinkley added that, if the Warsaw talks failed "the alternatives are to move the arguments to the UN or to have a war, or possibly both."

News from Formosa lent substance to the possibility that the U.S. expected the Warsaw talks to fail and was preparing for a show-down with China. Chiang Kai-shek was reported to have refused to

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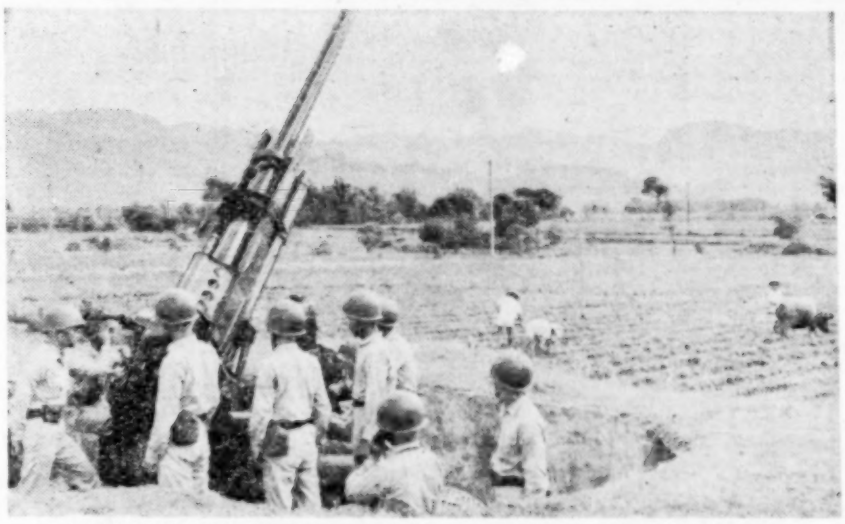

WHAT WOULD THE CHINESE DO WITHOUT THE U.S. NAVY?
They might, for one thing, over-run their own islands. The Chinese on the mainland coast (top) might let their stacked rifles fall while they till their farms. Chinese on Formosa (bottom) might raise their sights from a gun barrel and rejoin their families on the mainland. However, the U.S. Seventh Fleet still sails the Formosa Strait, Chiang Kai-shek is in Formosa and all's fright with the world.

REUTHER'S 'NON-EXCESSIVE' VICTORY

UAW-Ford contract sews up the fringes

By Elmer Bendiner

IN A COLD DRIZZLE on the morning of Sept. 17 United Auto Workers picket lines formed at the Ford assembly plant on the South Side of Chicago. Management was ready for them. Up to the gates rolled carts loaded with sweet rolls and coffee. "Compliments of the Management," said the coffee pourers cheerily.

The issues between auto workers and management were no less grave than in the head-cracking days of the '30's but the struggle seemed to be fuzzed over by a beguiling fantasy. As the strike deadline neared there were no battle cries from union headquarters. Instead, Walter Reuther, UAW president, told reporters: "The most rewarding thing is that free labor and free management can get together for the good of the public as a whole."

The strike lasted six hours and, when it was over and a new contract signed, Reuther bestowed a statesman's blessing. He called the settlement "non-inflationary." Ford Vice President John S. Bugas shook Reuther's hand and declared the deal "non-excessive." General Motors and Chrysler, next on the UAW's list of titans to tackle, showed no fear of the pattern set at Ford. One high-placed company spokesman said: "I see no reason why G.M. shouldn't be tickled to death with it."

"IMPROVEMENT FACTOR": The new three-year contract offers some important fringe benefits to the union but in its main provisions it is substantially what the company proposed before bargaining last spring. At that time the company offered to extend the existing contract for two years with its provision for an annual "improvement factor" of 2½% or 6c whichever is higher. "Improvement factor" is a labor statesman's euphemism for a raise and it carries with it the implication that the raise is dependent on increased productivity. The union rank and file had demanded considerably more. In a Labor Day parade in Detroit many UAW placards read: "30 for 40," meaning a 30-hour week for 40-hours' pay.

That demand never reached the bargaining table, although another union, the independent United Electrical Workers, is making it a key point in negotiations. Nevertheless UAW leaders originally had pressed for a much bigger raise. Ford never budged from their offer and the union took the 2½%, which comes to an average yearly increase of 7c an hour. The company also stood pat on the cost-of-living escalator clause in the old contract, another 3c an hour.

UNEMPLOYMENT FUND: On pay the union won two concessions: some skilled workers would get an 8c boost and all increases would be retroactive to July 1.

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LITTLE ROCK FRONT

Faubus losing white support over schools

By Louis E. Burnham
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

IN THE FACE of mounting dissatisfaction with the closing of Little Rock's four high schools, Arkansas Gov. Orval E. Faubus moved last week to foist on the people of this city the nation's first system of publicly-supported "private" schools.

While some 3,600 high school students remained at loose ends around the town, fretting at the prospect of losing a year in their educational careers, Faubus advanced the date for a special—and specially rigged—election on school policy from Oct. 7 to Sept. 27. Voters will then cast their ballots for or against "racial integration of all schools within the school district."

The wording of the ballot obscures the fact that the plan at issue between Faubus and the Supreme Court is the Little Rock school board's program of gradual integration which would not be completed until 1963. If the plan should take effect immediately it would be sure to involve only six of nine Negro students who attended Central High School last year. Of the nine, Ernest Green has graduated, Minnijean Brown was expelled for resisting the attacks of race-baiters within the school and is attending a private school outside the city, and Terrence Roberts has moved to California. Six other Negro children are applying for admission to Central and to all-white Hall High, but have not yet received word of their acceptance.

'I DON'T KNOW': Faubus' action changing the election date was followed swiftly by the announcement that a group of "private citizens" had secured a charter for a corporation to run private schools within the district. President of the group is Dr. T. J. Raney, Pulaski County health officer. Raney, in announcing formation of the Little Rock Private School Corp. was asked whether he was a segregationist and answered: "I don't know." When reminded that he might be faced with an injunction for promoting a subterfuge to evade the Supreme Court's integration order, he said he'd be willing to go to jail for his objectives. He stated he couldn't say wheth-

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THE MAIL BAG

Next step for Faubus

NEW YORK, N.Y.

If Faubus is victorious over the Supreme Court and the 14th and 15th Amendments remain abolished (there is anyhow not one single Negro pupil integrated in seven states), his next step will be to abolish Art. 13 and reintroduce slavery. What can we do if the white majority of the Confederate States asks for it?

John H Beck

Big Rock

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

If only somebody had told President Eisenhower that Quemoy and Matsu are a part of China, he might never have drawn his ridiculous parallel charging Communist China with Hitlerian aggression.

Forget about Faubus and Little Rock, and consider the case of Big Rock, offshore island off the North Carolina coast: Suppose it decided to secede rather than live up to U.S. integration laws and Supreme Court decisions, and suppose it began to blockade the coast and bomb the mainland, hoping for eventual restoration of its jimcrow-type government. Wouldn't it be natural for the U.S. to take over Big Rock, with force if necessary? Wouldn't South Africa become the laughing-stock of the world if it then charged the U.S. with Hitlerian aggression? Wouldn't it be tragic if it or Japan shipped troops and bombers thousands of miles away from home, all the way to Big Rock on the American coast, under the guise of halting American aggression?

Aaron Katz

Truman's judgment day

ERWIN, TENN.

In his recent speech to the American Legion, Harry Truman complained about our soldier boys not relishing his idea of a war in Korea after they had just been through one in Europe and Africa.

After three or four years of such bloody hell, no man in his right mind would have wanted to be shipped to Korea to grab those tungsten mines for the metals trust and to make big dividends for the Standard Oil Co. by dumping millions of barrels of its napalm on Korea's poor, helpless women and children.

Our former President has a lot to answer for before the American people when they wake up from their long Rip Van Winkle sleep and begin to think and get organized.

Ernest Seeman

Note to Fulbright

BRONX, N.Y.

It should be pointed out to our intellectual Sen. Fulbright that his recent plea to continue the segregation of the races reveals his spirit to be one that has not extricated itself from the fanaticism and superstitions of barbaric times. A "free human or spiritual life" to be of any benefit to humanity must be one which holds the essential element of compassion for one's fellowmen; and it is the absence of that spirit which has brought our world to the impasse to a higher plane of existence.

Miriam Stern

Deluded meat-eaters

MELBOURNE, FLA.

I like your paper very much. I even like your advertising. I even liked the paid ad of Standard Brand (Sept. 8) in which they tell about the extreme friendship of the Russian people, and how from now on they will be friendly and courteous to "Demos, Repubs, Communists, Liberals, Trotskyists and Vegetarians." Since I am a Vegetarian, I appreciate this. When I visit New York next, I plan to stop in at their store and sop up a little of their friendliness.

I also plan to tell them that Vegetarians have many of the answers to man's problems: We are peaceful; we have a right to ask for peace since we are not murderers (of other forms of life) for our food supply. We have a right to ask for human rights, since we respect the rights of other forms of life. To reform things, we should first begin with our own ideas, philosophies and actions.

So, you deluded meat-eaters (killers) should really stop playing around with the branches of our problems and get a little closer to the main trunk and roots.

David Stry

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

I know of a person, one of the refugees who came from the mainland, and he told me, he said the people of mainland China were saying: Why doesn't the Republic of China [Chiang] use nuclear weapons on the mainland?

—Mme. Chiang Kai-shek on **Meet the Press** TV program, Sept. 21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. L., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Immaturity

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

"Arabs' gift to humanity" by Anna Louise Strong Sept. 15 is a masterpiece of immaturity. She states with unbecoming immature enthusiasm that the ten Arab nations in the UN "informed the world by indirection and politely that Lebanon and Jordan were Arab business and not the business of Moscow or Washington." How very brave of them.

What kind of "unanimity" does Miss Strong expect from nations so completely permeated with hatred that they brazenly and cruelly announce to the so-called "free" and "enslaved" worlds that they will not permit Jewish soldiers to set foot on their soil?

Israel Bershad

The 'Lapin' story

SAUGUS, CALIF.

Your "Lapin" story about the victims of Nazi medical activities stirred the souls of many. A hundred doctors, perhaps more, were involved in these fiendish, senseless experiments. One woman, Dr. Herta Oberheuser, is now practicing in Schleswig-Holstein, northern Germany. Dr. Hubertus Strughold, the "big shot" in the "Lapin" cruelties, is now employed as professor of space medicine in the School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Air Base, Tex.

Public opinion and pressure removed Morton Sobell from the "rock." Why not use this same method on this Strughold character? Put the skids under him!

John Hoffman

Discrimination

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

It has come to the attention of the No. California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (948 Market St.) that non-citizens applying for Supplementary Unemployment Insurance have to sign the following form:

CERTIFICATION BY ALIENS

"I certify that since the beginning of the base period for the claim upon which my entitlement to Temporary Unemployment Compensation is based, I have not at any time been employed by a foreign government which since the beginning of such base period was Communist or under Communist control or any agency or instrumentality of such government, nor by an organization which was registered or is under final order to register under Section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 or for which there was in effect a final order determining that it is a Communist infiltrated organization."

We cannot see any logical reason for the necessity of signing the above "loyalty oath." Nor do we see any reason for a differentiation between citizens and non-citizens applying for unemployment benefits, since citizenship status is not required for eligibility under the Social Security Act.

We are calling your attention to the above so that you may take the necesssary steps to protest to the proper authorities this discrimination against the foreign born.

Grace Partridge, Sec'y.

Lancaster in London Express

"Well, once upon a time, when mummy was quite a little girl, there was a man called Chiang Kai-shek—and believe it or not, according to Mr. Dulles, there still is."

World socialist forum

LONDON, ENGLAND

The Intl. Society for Socialist Studies is launching an Intl. Socialist Forum which will enable members in all countries to establish links with one another through a common program of discussions.

The first, on the Arab-Israel dispute, is being held during the period Sept.-Oct. and will be followed in Nov.-Dec. by one on "Socialism and Contemporary Capitalism." Each subject will have its own background paper which it is expected convenors will use as an introduction. In addition, it is hoped that each group will elect a rapporteur who will send us some notes on the discussion and thus make it possible to ascertain the trends of socialist opinion in different parts of the world.

Socialists who would like to join or convene a Forum group are invited to apply to the international secretary of I.S.S.S., 22 Nevern Road, London, S.W.5, England, (enclosing a stamp or a postal coupon) for fuller details.

G. D. H. Cole
President

He won't change

LOGANSPORT, IND.

I hope you will forgive me for not sending the buck-of-the-month sustainer but it's a case of hardship. I am 78 and have to earn my living by working and am not entitled to even a cent o. social security or old age benefits. And on top of all that I have to pay for my mentally sick wife in the state hospital.

But the GUARDIAN's the only paper that I really enjoy and I hope you will be able to continue the wonderful work you are doing. I am willing to deprive myself in order to help as much as I possibly can. I have been in the labor struggle all my past life and will continue as long as I live. Nothing can change me, only death.

Yours for the cause.

N. Baldini

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REPORT TO READERS

M. P. Davies: Act now!

UPWARDS OF 1,000 New Yorkers thronged the grand ballroom of the New Yorker Hotel Sept. 19 to hear a British M.P. roast his government and ours for the shaky state of peace in the world.

The M.P. was Welsh-born Harold Davies, Labor member from the Leek Division of Staffordshire and a leader of the Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party. Davies saved New York City for the tag-end of a six-week speaking tour which brought him to 17 U.S. cities and involved innumerable meetings, radio and TV broadcasts and house gatherings.

As full of bounce at the end as at the start (he visited the GUARDIAN office before his lecture tour began officially last Aug. 19) Davies spoke with the enthusiasm and conviction of one engaged in a winning fight for his objectives.

LABOR MUST WIN, he said of the British elections, "and give Bevan a chance to build peace and a united nation."

No respecter of capitalists (". . . now they want laws to control outer space, when they can't even control the space between the ends of their skulls") he talked like one who believes capitalism is beaten at its own game, and that the game is about up.

Capitalists, he observed, have only been able to maintain full employment "when they are at war, going into one, or coming out of one. But now, for the first time in the history of man, war no longer brings full employment." Nor, he pointed out, does war spending buy security.

"You are spending 56 times more than in 1938—my country's spending 38 times more. Here's the $64 question: do you think you are 56 times safer, happier in this rat race? Are we?

"Mankind is killing itself, and we kid ourselves that it isn't happening.

"Snap out of it! Speak out! Or shall we say that we are going to defy nature and struggle around in lead pantaloons?"

CORLISS LAMONT, Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator from New York and another speaker at the Davies meeting, also talked like a man who believes a political fight for peace can win, but on one basic condition:

"If world peace is to come, John Foster Dulles must go!"

Lamont reviewed Dulles brinkmanship in the last few months from Lebanon 4,000 miles from Washington in one direction, to Quemoy and the Matsus, 10,000 miles in the other direction, and warned that in such a continuing situation "accidental confusion in military orders on either side, or a hot-headed local commander, could push us over the precipice into a frightful, hydrogen-bomb world war."

He suggested Eisenhower ditch Dulles and appoint Stassen, "who has worked hard and sincerely for disarmament." He also called for our clearing out of the Chinese off-shore islands and out of Formosa as well. As long as we stay there, the situation is bound to be explosive; and if it doesn't get explosive enough, "a desperate Chiang Kai-shek" might engineer the sinking of an American warship and blame it on the Chinese Communists.

He listed a 10-point program beginning with the dumping of Dulles and leading up to a Summit Conference.

TWO OTHER SPEAKERS with Davies and Lamont seemed less optimistic that action in the political arena could head off catastrophe. Pacifist A. J. Muste, just back from a summer spent in Europe and the Soviet Union, felt that no basic progress has been made toward averting the threat of nuclear war. He said there was no reason to believe that the U.S.S.R. or China wants anything other than peace, but warned that the Soviet people are so solidly back of their government that they could conceive of a defensive nuclear war as necessary to peace if their country became engaged in one.

Nuclear war, Muste declared, can promote nothing—not peace nor freedom, nor revolution. It is the enemy, the dark destroyer, and "only peace activity based on this humane conclusion can save us."

Dr. Otto Nathan, economist and Albert Einstein's executor, felt the threat of war "more precarious than at any time in my existence" and that if war comes it will be a nuclear war which could annihilate hundreds of millions of people, "entire mankind!"

"It is not enough," he pleaded, "to say 'Hands off Quemoy'; we must say 'Hands off war!'

"We must do away with it! Not we in the United States alone, but people all over the world—universally, simultaneously, now!"

The theme of the meeting was "Next Steps to Peace." Surely the political speakers agreed with the vision of Dr. Nathan, the realistic pacifism of Mr. Muste. The question was whether these latter shared the conviction of the others that political steps could bring a war-headed world to its senses in time.

—THE GUARDIAN

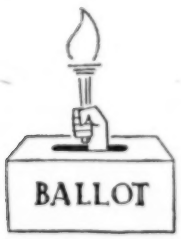
HEARING SET FOR SEPT. 29

N.Y. independents get court order in fight for ballot status

AS THE GUARDIAN went to press the Independent-Socialist Party in New York had obtained a court order aimed at restraining N.Y. Secy. of State Carmine DeSapio, Tammany leader, from ruling the new party off the ballot on the basis of challenges filed by a Tammany law firm. The challengers also obtained a court order aimed at restraining DeSapio from certifying the new party. Faced with court appearances on both orders, DeSapio set a hearing for Mon., Sept. 29, where the challenges will be considered.

The Independent-Socialist Party, which filed some 27,000 signatures to nominating petitions on Sept. 9 was challenged in ten of New York's 62 counties. The challenges were made by former N.Y. City Assemblyman Monroe Goldwater, law associate of the late Edward J. Flynn, longtime N.Y. State Democratic Party boss. Identical challenge specifications were filed by Bernard Block of Rochester, who told newspapers there that he was a registered Republican but refused to say why he filed the objections with Goldwater. A third challenger, attorney Andrew M. Pinckney, holder of a $13,000-a-year plum from the Harriman administration, failed to file specifications of his challenge.

The Socialist Labor Party, which filed 16,000 petition signatures to nominate a state ticket and a U.S. Senatorial candi-



date, was similarly challenged by Goldwater and Block. These challenges also will be argued in the Sept. 29 proceeding in Albany.

THE UNSILENCED: Henry H. Abrams of New York City, state chairman of the Independent-Socialist Party's campaign committee, charged DeSapio with "playing the role of prosecutor, judge and jury in this case."

"Having silenced dissent in his own party," Abrams said, "DeSapio is now trying to silence our voice for peace, civil rights and socialist alternatives to an antiquated economic system. We choose not to be silenced and believe that all fair-minded New Yorkers will support our fight to achieve the ballot status we deserve so that voters of New York State will have an alternative to the two old parties when they go to the polls in November."

Abrams said the challenges dealt mostly with alleged minor clerical errors and expressed confidence in the validity of the petition signatures "which were obtained in good faith."

INTIMIDATION: Abrams also cited a well-organized campaign of intimidation throughout the state against those who signed our petitions." He said persons purporting to be members of local election boards had telephoned people and queried them as to their political beliefs and associations. In other areas, he said petition signers had been visited by Election Commissioners accompanied by deputy sheriffs "who attempted to pressure signers of our petitions into withdrawing their names."

The Gannett Newspapers' Albany bureau sent lists of names of Independent-Socialist petition signers to its papers throughout the state. In Rochester the Gannett **Democrat & Chronicle** published the full list of 192 signers, along with the names of the Rochester and Buffalo voters who collected the signatures. This tactic was followed widely during the Wallace-Taylor campaign in 1948 in other states to bring community reprisal on Progressive Party supporters.

Abrams characterized the effort as

In case of intimidation

ALL INSTANCES of intimidation of petition signers should be reported immediately to the Independent-Socialist campaign committee, 799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3, GR 3-2141.

All petition canvassers are asked to report at a campaign workshop meeting, Sat., Sept. 27, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., at 11 a.m.

"part of a concerted move to prevent all minority groups from placing their candidates on the ballot, as is evident in the similar challenges made against the Socialist-Labor Party ticket and against Benjamin Davis."

Davis, a former N.Y. City Councilman and present N.Y. state chairman of the Communist Party, filed some 6,000 signatures nominating him for State Senate in New York's 21st Senatorial District. His signatures were challenged by attorneys for James L. Watson, Democratic incumbent seeking reelection. A hearing on the Davis challenges was held Sept. 22 and the Board of Elections ruled that fewer than 1,000 of the Davis signatures were valid. The ruling will be fought in the courts.

IN MINNESOTA the Socialist Workers Party announced the nomination of William M. Curran of Minneapolis for U.S. Senator. A campaign for 2,000 petition signatures must be completed by Oct. 3. Supporters aim at getting twice that number.

IN CALIFORNIA a United Socialist Committee Against Proposition No. 18 has been formed as an outcome of a Los Angeles meeting in August called to support the New York Independent-Socialist ballot effort.

Proposition 18 is the California "Right to Work" initiative which will be voted on in the November elections.

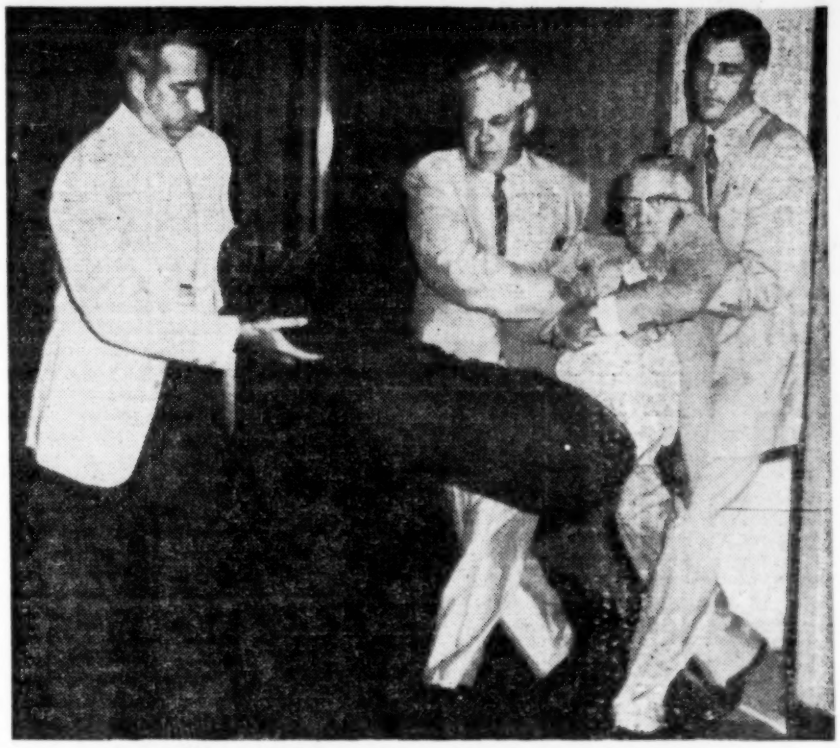
Further information may be obtained from A. J. Lewis, 1559 Altivo Way, Los Angeles 26.

IN MICHIGAN the SWP state ticket headed by Frank Lovell for Governor and Evelyn Sell for U.S. Senator, has urged on labor an immediate demand for the 30-hour week for 40 hours pay as a means of relieving unemployment. Of recent automobile industry settlements, the ticket's press statement declares that "too much has been given up." The statement calls for a renewed fight on the Taft-Hartley Law and its "yellow-dog oath, the non-Communist affidavit."

IN OHIO a group of individuals, including prominent labor leaders, has called an all-state socialist conference for Nov.

28-30 in Cleveland. Among the signers of the call are Sam Pollock, president of Local 427, Amalgamated Retail Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO, and director of Ohio's all-labor campaign against the state's "right-to-work" bill; Richard B. Tussey, national representative of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, AFL-CIO, with 20,000 members in the Cleveland area; and Eric Reinthaler, one of the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" defendants and a former electrical and machinist union official. Other signers are Anita Reinthaler, Teamsters Union member; Herman Kirsch, United Auto Workers delegate to the Cleveland AFL-CIO Council; Eileen Eckles, women's groups leader; and Jerry Gordon, unionist and one-time state chairman of the Ohio Labor Youth League. The call signers represent the Ohio Sponsoring Committee for a Socialist Conference, which seeks to convene socialists "of all tendencies, affiliated or unaffiliated . . . to discuss and debate major political questions and to explore possible areas for united socialist activity."

For further information write Eric J. Reinthaler, secretary, 127 East 316th St., Willowick Ohio.



A pacifist minister adopts 'total non-cooperation'

FOR TEN YEARS the Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin of Cincinnati has paid no Federal taxes because most of them go for war. When three U.S. agents tried to arrest him on Sept. 12 his non-cooperation included a refusal to accompany them. They had to carry him bodily before a U.S. Commissioner, who charged him with contempt and set a hearing for Sept. 26. He wouldn't even cooperate in his own release by signing a bond, but said: "I have no control over what you do. According to the summons, you say you will bring the body. The body is here. I am trying to follow my conscience, and you fellows will have to do what your conscience leads you to do." Theirs led them to turn him loose without even his signature as security. So far the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church and the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, of which he is director, have stood by the Rev. McCrackin against demands for his removal by the local American Legion and some other groups.

REV. KING STABBED BUT HIS CAUSE GOES ON

Children to march on capital in integration crusade Oct. 11

THE DAY AFTER he addressed a civil rights mass meeting of 6,000 people at Harlem's busiest intersection, Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, lay near death on an operating table in Harlem Hospital. A Negro woman, later described as deranged and incoherent, had stabbed him as he autographed copies of his book, **Stride Toward Freedom**, in a department store.

Three surgeons removed a steel letter-opener from his chest where it lodged perilously close to the main artery of the heart, and announced that Rev. King would probably survive. Harlemites speculated on the strange circumstances of the attack and turned again to the project for which he had spoken on the street corner: the Youth March for Integration.

TREK TO WASHINGTON: Proposed by A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice-president, the march of 1,000 elementary-school-age children will take place on Oct. 11. The children, Negro and white, will march down Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capital and congregate in front of the White House. Baseball hero Jackie Robinson and Ernest Green, first Negro graduate of Little Rock's Central High School, will serve as marshals of the march and will seek an audience with President Eisenhower on behalf of the children.

The march has been endorsed by 70-odd adult leaders in the New York area, including former Federal Judge J. Waties Waring; Morris Iueshewitz of the N.Y. CIO; Cleveland Robinson, vice-president, Dist. 65, Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union, AFL-CIO; Father John LaFarge, editor of the Catholic magazine, **America**, and Dr. Dan Potter of the 1,700-church Protestant Council of New York. Honorary chairmen are Rev. King, Mrs. Daisy Bates, Arkansas NAACP state president, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary.

WHERE TO JOIN: Randolph announced that the march was called to dramatize the civil rights crisis and the increase of violence in the South. Youth are expected to join the march from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Buses, leaving New York on the morning of Oct. 11, will return the same day. Three adults—a teacher, a parent and a minister—will be responsible for the children in each bus. Other groups will travel by auto, train and plane. Preparations for the march are being made at the office of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO, 217 W. 125th St., New York City, MO 2-5080.

LABOR

Steel union convention votes to expel anti-McDonald group

DAVID J. McDONALD last week turned the 9th Constitutional Convention of the United Steel Workers of America into what was called "the largest kangaroo court in the world." He also permitted the 3,500 delegates to fill Atlantic City's Convention Hall with noisy parades under the banner: "Dave is Tops." There were only faint echoes, principally in the text of the Officers' Report and McDonald's keynote speech, of the grim problems of unemployment and automation plaguing the 1,250,000 members of the union.

McDonald stopped working in a steel mill in 1923 when he was 21. In that year Philip Murray, then vice-president of the United Mine Workers, took him on as his private secretary. He has held union office in the Steel Workers since the mid-thirties when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was formed. Murray groomed him as his successor and in 1952, on Murray's death, McDonald stepped into the presidency. He had Murray's blessing, power and machine but not his popularity. Last year for the first time in the union's history there was a contest for the presidency. McDonald was challenged by a hitherto obscure furnace

Drawing by Fred Wright
"Instead of raising your pay we'll keep your wages and let you have the deductions."

charger named Donald Rarick who drew 223,000 votes to McDonald's 404,000.

DUES THE ISSUE: The cause that swept Rarick into prominence was widespread rank-and-file resentment at the 1956 decision to raise union dues from $3 a month to $5. Rarick's program of a dues cut-back was perhaps too simplified; after the election the movement, never well organized, began to fall apart. But only last July Rarick's 4,000-member local at the U.S. Steel plant in McKeesport, Pa., elected him as its president. Other members of the Dues Protest Committee elected to local leadership were Nicholas Mamula of the 12,000-member local at the Jones & Loughlin plant in Aliquippa, Pa., and Frank O'Brien, of the 6,500-member unit at the J. & L. Hazelwood plant near Pittsburgh.

McDonald's high-handed rule has not sat well with his international executive board either. Rumors of the revolt there were partially confirmed when McDonald at the annual conference of District 13 in August expressed his disagreement with those who felt his time was up. He said: "I will not resign. I am so conceited as to believe that if the United Steel Workers of America ever needed David McDonald they need him more in 1959 than they ever needed him before."

ORATORY AND BANDS: Last week's convention was clearly designed to show McDonald's strength and to crush the rebels. In his keynote speech McDonald, who at 55 has improved on the techniques he learned at Carnegie Tech's Drama School, urged the membership to "rip this cancer out of your bowels." The "cancer" was Rarick and his associates, Mamula and O'Brien. He accused them of working "hand in glove" with the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, Communists, Trotskyists and agents of the steel companies. He so repeatedly asked his loyal adherents not to crack heads that Mamula thought he was inciting them to do just that.

The brass bands and placards were all prepared: "100% for McDonald," "Weed Out The Traitors," "Expel the Phonies Now," "Dual Unionism Must Go." Rarick called it a "farce well rehearsed in advance." As the convention opened, he predicted: "The rank and file is damn mad about the way this thing has been rigged and by the time we get through with McDonald he'll be a mighty sorry boy."

A TRIAL AHEAD: McDonald had promised the dues rebels "full opportunity" to speak; but every time they took the floor they were booed down. Their proposal to cut back the dues drew only 37 of the 3,500 votes at the convention. There were only two dissenting votes on the resolution directing locals and the Intl. Executive Board to try the "ringleaders" and "traitors" and to expel them. Before the resolution was voted, McDonald supporters paraded around the hall with a coffin bearing the initials D.P.C. —for Dues Protest Committee—while the band played a death march. McDonald said he personally favored expelling them without a trial but advised against it because the rebels could go to court to prevent their expulsion.

One executive board member took the floor to advise the rebels to resign on the spot since there was "no place" for them in the union. McDonald seconded the suggestion. Only a few minutes earlier, Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a Presidential hopeful, had called the union a democratic model. Earlier in the convention Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell said the convention was "an example of democracy in America." Harry S. Truman had heaped similar praise on the delegates in return for which McDonald had assured him that if it were up to the steelworkers he would be the next President of the U.S.

DAVID J. McDONALD (L.) AND RIVAL DONALD C. RARICK
Rebel leader calls convention 'biggest kangaroo court in the world'

UNEMPLOYMENT RIFE: Rarick, refusing to resign, said the trials would be a "mockery of justice" and would do the labor movement more harm than the "right to work laws." Some of the delegates privately expressed sympathy for the rebels but it was plain that two factors had held them back from outspoken support on the floor: (1) fear of reprisals from the McDonald machine; (2) the conviction that the dues issue was too limited a cause for a major fight shortly before crucial negotiations with the steel companies.

The steel workers are badly hit by unemployment. The Officers' Report said that 250,000 members were out of work and another 150,000 on a short week. Moreover, increased productivity, from automation or other sources, was cutting jobs still more. Though steel production was up 10% over last February, the number of steel workers at work had declined since then.

JULY 1 EXPIRATION: In his report McDonald seemed resentful that the employers had "betrayed" him after originally seconding his proposals for shared responsibility in the support of the free enterprise system. He promised to press the companies to grant the short work week demanded by the rank-and-file, although a similar demand had gone down the drain in auto negotiations last week. He also pledged that he would demand a "substantial improvement" in wages and hours. The present three-year contract with the companies expires July 1 and McDonald warned that a strike might then be necessary to force the companies to grant the demands.

Whether or not McDonald talks as tough at the conference table as he did at the convention depends to some extent at least on how tough the rank and file gets. The one thing demonstrated decisively at Atlantic City was David J. McDonald's personal ability to achieve job security at better-than-union wages: $50,000 a year.

Auto union

(Continued from Page 1)

The major union gains were in supplemental unemployment benefits and severance pay which, in a time of continued lay-offs, loom large among the workers' worries.

Under the old contract the company and employes contribute to a fund out of which unemployed workers are payed benefits. These were calculated so that, combined with his state unemployment insurance, an unemployed worker's income was 65% of his straight-time take-home pay after taxes for the first four weeks of unemployment. After that the figure dropped to 60% and continued for a total of 24 weeks.

Under the new contract an unemployed auto worker will get 65% every week and the period of supplemental benefits will be extended to the time that state unemployment insurance benefits are paid. In many states the time was recently upped to as much as 39 weeks.

ACADEMIC FOR MANY: In states like Indiana, where the law forbids such supplemental plans, the unemployed worker will draw his state check one week and a company check the next. The average unemployed auto worker under the new contract is assured of approximately $55 a week for about nine months, a sum not guaranteed to relieve him from worry. Some states pay as high as $45 a week in unemployment benefits; this leaves $10 to be met out of the fund to which the company contributes.

Wall Street Journal

For many of the unemployed even this proposal was academic. In Detroit, for example, workers were exhausting their 39-week unemployment benefits at the rate of 6,000 a week.

Workers on a short week who earn just enough to bar them from unemployment benefits are also guaranteed 65% of their straight-time take-home pay.

LAY-OFFS AND SEVERANCE: On lay-offs the new contract seeks to ameliorate the symptoms but nowhere tackles the disease. Auto plants all over the country have taken advantage of the slump to automate so that many now laid off will never go back to their jobs. For example, Chrysler recently announced that a new automated set-up at its Automotive Body plant in Detroit had enabled it to cut its employes there from 25,000 to 8,000. To meet that situation the contract raises severance and retirement pay.

The severance pay clause now grants a minimum one-shot sum of 40-hours' pay for a discharged worker with two years' seniority and a maximum of 1,200 hours' pay to a worker with 30 years or more in the company. At the average auto worker's pay at $2.51 an hour this would range from $100 to $3,000 but would depend on the state of the benefits fund at the time of discharge. Severance pay would also be reduced by the amount of supplemental unemployment benefits paid a worker during the lay-off.

RETIREMENT PLAN: Workers can retire at the age of 60 with company and union consent and draw monthly payments of $2.40 for every year worked up to Sept. 1, 1958, $2.50 for every year after that date. At that rate the average worker, after 20 years with the company, would retire on $48 a month.

Among other points won by UAW negotiators was a raise in the differential for night-shift workers. Many more items which troubled the workers were left to local negotiations. Plant-wide seniority provisions, for example, were not mentioned and the giant River Rouge local felt that omission so keenly its workers stayed on strike after the contract was signed.

Also omitted from the contract was any mention of Reuther's profit-sharing scheme which last spring he had presented with flaming rhetoric as his answer to the simpler rank-and-file clamor of "30 for 40." To the most troubled industry in the country the new contract offered no cures—only a collection of bandaids and soothing ointments and the assurance that the flow of 1959 models, with leaping fins, heavy chome and a slight boost in price, would not be halted.

International cultural evening in N.Y. Oct. 10

A CULTURAL EVENING devoted to songs and dances of many nations will be presented Fri., Oct. 10, at 8 p.m. by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at Yugoslav American Hall, 405 W. 41st St., New York City.

The event will launch the organization's fall program which will culminate with its 25th Annual National Conference in New York in December.

Tickets are $1 and may be obtained from the ACPFB Room 405, 49 East 21 St., ORegon 4-5058.

EXCLUSIVE TO THE GUARDIAN

Argentine President Frondizi states his aims

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

BUENOS AIRES

PRESIDENT FRONDIZI's first four months in office have been plagued by internal struggles, including a continuing wave of strikes. While many of the strikes appear justified in the face of almost run-away inflation and a rising cost of living, some seem motivated entirely by political considerations. These include the two-months-old doctors' strike which plays havoc with the public's health and looks ominously like a conspiracy against the government.

The new law on trade unions granting full freedom of election and representation of workers by the group receiving a majority vote, has been attacked by the right-wing press and certain left-wing groups as opening the door to renewed Peronista control of the CGT. But the attack can hardly be regarded as genuine and appears to spring from right-wing animosity to the President's reformist policies in general and the fear of certain minority interests of losing positions gained in some trade unions during the Provisional regime.

Frondizi said recently: "The government is determined to take any measures designed to arrive at a solution to the problems which have given rise to anger and disquiet among the workers . . . However, I must point out that, apart from legitimate complaints, there exist certain political machinations which cannot be tolerated . . . The government believes that trade unions should limit themselves to trade union activities proper . . ."

Argentine cartoonists have a symbol for brass-hats in politics: the gorilla. Here the the weekly Resistencia Popular *shows two of them cracking the national reserves while the crows, the gorillas' civilian colleagues, make a getaway.*

FOR UNITY: It is Arturo Frondizi's basic creed that all Argentines enjoy equal rights regardless of their political affiliations, past or present. He sees this as the only way to re-unite a dangerously disunited nation. But the die-hards seem determined to frustrate every attempt at unity. While the President's prestige abroad stands at a new high, his position at home, to judge by the majority of the press, appears uncertain. But such prominent papers as **Nacion** and **Prensa** have for decades been tied to the oligarchy, and negative press opinion here need not reflect public opinion.

On the matter of recent oil contracts (GUARDIAN, Sept. 15), it is the conservative groups, long bound to foreign capital interests, which cry treason and accuse the President of selling out the country. Their fear is that the contracts, by setting a basic pattern, will make the nation as a whole, rather than a small privileged group, the future trading partner of the world.

TALK WITH FRONDIZI: In a recent exclusive interview with me, President Frondizi expressed these views:

Q. In announcing the recent oil agreements, you indicated that payment for services, equipment, capital goods, etc., would not be made out of current or future oil production, and that no oil will be exported from this country until the Republic's own domestic demands are fully met. However, in view of this country's vast oil resources, may it not be assumed that in years to come, once a modern oil industry is established, Argentina will almost automatically find herself among the exporting countries?

PRESIDENT FRONDIZI: Although the demand for petroleum and its derivatives is increasing and will continue to increase within the country, it appears highly probable that the intensification of our petroleum production and the simultaneous and progressive use of new forces of energy will at a certain given moment permit the export of petroleum.

Q. May we regard the oil agreements as setting the basic pattern for future economic exploitation of other natural resources, such as coal, iron, and hydro-electric power?

FRONDIZI: It is the aim of the government to intensify the production and exploitation of all natural resources in every possible manner without being hamstrung by pre-determined formulas. The basic principles may be expressed as follows:

1. Exploitation must be in harmony with the basic needs of the nation's development and the general well-being of the population.

2. The government, in order to achieve this aim, accepts the cooperation of such private capital, both national and foreign, as wishes to collaborate within the pre-fixed limits of Argentine law.

In this sense the agreements entered into with regard to the exploitation of petroleum constitute evidence of the line of action adopted by the government

ARTURO FRONDIZI
Argentine oil for Argentina

of the Argentine, backed by the support of the electorate.

Q. Most of the private capital so far willing to cooperate has proved to be foreign capital. To what extent, and in what ways, do you believe can Argentine capital be mobilized to invest in the essential, basic industries and thus invest in the country's future? Will the entry of foreign private capital in your opinion lead to an end of what has been called the "sit-down strike" on the part of Argentine private capital?

FRONDIZI: Argentine capital has recently given clear proof of its determination to cooperate in and provide a stimulus for the immense task of promoting the nation's development. A few weeks ago, I received a group of industrialists representing the country's most important metallurgical enterprises, informing me of the establishment of a vast consortium with the aim of creaing a large new steel plant. As I emphasized in my first message to Congress, our economic development must essentially rest on national capital investment. Foreign capital, for its part, has its own extraordinary and dynamic function of acting as an accelerating factor representing technical progress by way of contributing new processes, new criteria and new equipment.

Q. There have been various reports of a closer economic and political union between Argentina and some of her neighbors, which might eventually lead to a position in foreign affairs similar to that of the Afro-Asian bloc in the UN or a neutralist position resembling that of India. Would you care to comment on the possible development of an independent Latin American bloc?

FRONDIZI: The policy of economic integration of the Americas forms part of this government's program. During my recent visits to the neighboring sister republics, I have had an opportunity of outlining this part of our program with a view of finally putting the continent's resources at the disposal of all its inhabitants.

This objective must, in our view, be achieved through the effective complementation of the different national economies, always based, however, on the fullest possible development of each country's own resources. There exist, therefore, no proposals for the establishment of any type of political bloc.

On the other hand, Argentina maintains that all international questions must be debated and solved within the international bodies set up for such purposes. This affords the only effective point of departure for the restoration of genuine international law.

CRUCIAL ITEMS ON AGENDA

China question hangs over UN Assembly

UNITED NATIONS

THE THIRTEENTH regular session of the 81-member UN General Assembly opened Sept. 16 with a proposed agenda heavy with crucial issues, some of which recently have reached an acute stage.

Early in the session the line of conflict was drawn in the speeches of the representatives of the two major powers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Intense but quiet conversations in the corridors and in the delegates' lounge indicated that lobbying and pressure campaigns for lining up votes were already under way.

Secy. Dulles outlined Washington's policy in a tired and toneless voice, in a speech he has made many times before. He again accused Peking of military aggression against the Chinese territory of Quemoy; denied that the Korean and Formosa Strait fightings were civil wars; defended U.S.-British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan; denounced what he called "the tragedy" of Hungary; urged German reunification on Western terms.

Conceding that economic aid to underdeveloped countries was an important issue, Dulles touched lightly on international agencies for economic cooperation but emphasized "the constructive role that private initiative can play in economic development" and hoped that "other nations will also explore" the potentialities of private enterprise. He also urged the formation of a UN police force and recommended forming a UN Ad Hoc Committee to explore exclusively the problems of outer space.

GROMYKO REPLIES: Speaking for Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko attacked Western aggression in the Middle East and in North Africa; condemned Washington's display of naval and air strength in distant places in what he called its attempt to bend others to its will; characterized the U.S. suggestion for discussion of outer space control without discussing elimination of U.S. military bases on foreign soil as a means to immobilize Soviet inter-continental ballistic missiles while keeping American intermediate range missiles poised on Russia's borders.

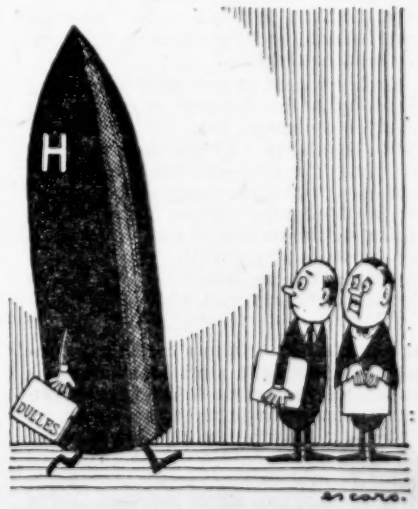
Gromyko reminded the UN that Moscow was Peking's ally in war and in peace and once again urged a summit conference to resolve major disputes peacefully. He offered a Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation with the U.S. and said: "If rivalry, or rather competition, between states with different social systems is inevitable, let it be competition in raising the welfare of the people, in multiplying spiritual riches."

MAIN ISSUES: Between sessions devoted to opening addresses, the Assembly's 21-member Steering Committee discussed and voted on items proposed for the agenda. U.S. lobbying success was shown in a majority against India's proposal for Assembly debate on China's status in the UN, on the grounds that such a debate would imperil the delicate U.S.-China talks in Warsaw. This led many observers to conclude that the U.S. agreed to the Warsaw talks only as an excuse for preventing UN recognition of Peking for another year. Washington also won a majority in favor of discussing the Hungarian issue.

With the support of the socialist countries and neutral nations, the Asian-Africans displayed their strength by including in the agenda, over strenuous Western opposition, the issues of Algerian independence (the Algerian liberation front simultaneously announced the formation of a government-in-exile), South Africa's policy of racial discrimination and its illegal annexation of Southwest Africa, and the establishment of a Special UN Fund for Economic Development.

In the next three months the Assembly will tackle more than 60 items. Major issues will include colonial freedom and economic aid to under-developed countries. The two most important issues, however, will be disarmament and, of course, China's status, which is bound to come up in one way or another, and especially if the Warsaw talks fail.

—Kumar Goshal



Liberation, Paris

"His jokes are killing, aren't they?"

BEHIND THE RACE CLASHES

Fascist groups played key role in British riots

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE BRITISH PEOPLE, after years of dismissing native organized fascism as dead, have been painfully reminded that it won't lie down. The fascist groups are small, but in Nottingham and Notting Hill they have amply demonstrated the ability of a few trained experts to distract attention from real grievances by inflaming neighbor against neighbor.

The race riots suggest once again how prudent one must be in deciding that "it can't happen here." On the eve of de Gaulle's referendum, with its possible aftermath of fascism in some form, few thoughtful Frenchmen are saying that now. In West Germany few would bet their shirts against a second coming for the Nazis, who stream back into top positions with benisons from the free world. The crisis of democratic capitalism makes it appropriate for political pundits to analyze chances for the Fuehrers to ride again.

Yet there seems to be a dearth of likely candidates for Fuehrer-dom. Memories linger of Benito's and Adolf's woefully sticky finish. On the other hand Spain's Franco and Portugal's Salazar are still around to testify that a Fuehrer's life is not necessarily short as well as sweet.

SIR OSWALD: Here in Britain we are still muddling along with candidate Sir Oswald Mosley, whose British Union of Fascists now passes under the more fragrant name of Union Movement.

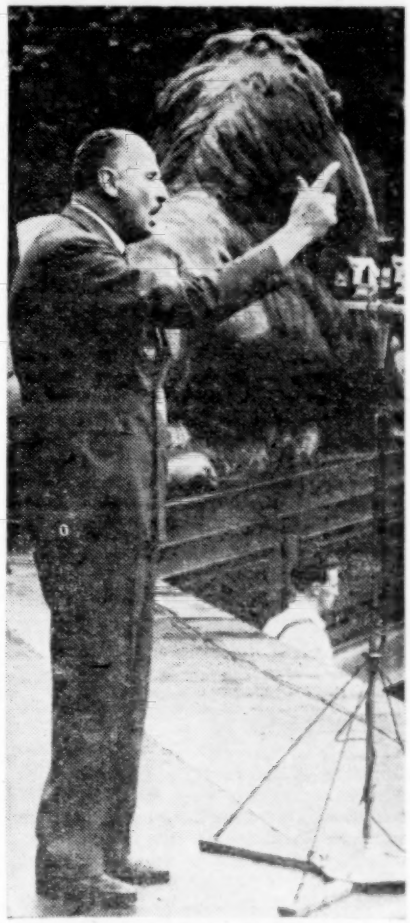
The jailing of Mosley and some colleagues as pro-Nazis during the war was thought to have ruled them out as a significant factor, but they are not too insignificant to have been able to play the main role in the race riots. (Other groups on the job included the "National Labor Party," whose spokesman told the **Times**

they were "quite profitably" distributing their paper with such headlines as "Blacks Seek White Women"; and the self-styled British branch of the KKK, which sends racist provocations on open postcards through the mails.) The authorities have done nothing to curb the activities of organized fascists in the colored districts; it is all "legal" provided they refrain, as they do, from open incitement to violence.

Mosley is now 62 and keeps fit playing tennis with the Duke of Windsor, who occupies a chateau near his own outside Paris. He also has a little place in County Cork. The cash—he has scads of it, and doesn't have to worry about backers for the Movement—comes from a chunk of Lancashire owned by succeeding Mosley baronets since 1781. The pot was sweetened by his first wife, who was a Curzon, and his second, who was a Guinness.

HIGH HOPES: Mosley's outfit has continued through the years to hold street-corner meetings, but this spring began breaking into the public prints again. At a public meeting where Housing Minister Henry Brooke defended the government's rent-decontrol policy, left-wingers heckled, Mosleyites ran amok, and Brooke was put to flight in an ensuing free-for-all.

Before May Day, Mosleyites rampaged



SIR OSWALD MOSLEY
The new manner is deceiving

at a session of the St. Pancras Borough Council, which was proposing to fly the red flag over the Union Hall. Yelling "Out with the Yids!" and other picturesque slogans, they showered down from the gallery "Mosley or Slump!" leaflets and others cartooning the colored "invasion" of Britain while whites emigrate. Official force and violence were necessary to remove them.

The Movement has high hopes of growth in the "serious economic crisis" which it predicts. Its secretary, one Jeffrey Hamm operating from seedy headquarters near Victoria station, is a 43-year-old schoolteacher in Britain's remotest outpost, the Falkland Islands. A recent London rally, in a hall near Notting Hill, drew some 750 people to hear the Leader. (Among Labor Party leaders, only Aneurin Bevan can attract such an audience to a political meeting today.)

When the race riots began, Mosleyites drove regularly into the affected areas with carloads of literature on the "colored threat." No such "threat" exists, but it presents them with a fruitful new opportunity so long as Britain protects every man's freedom to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

MOSCOW NINE YEARS AFTER—I

Soviet capital today a leading world center

By Anna Louise Strong

Special to the Guardian

(First of two articles)

MOSCOW

WHAT MOST strikes me in Moscow after nine years absence is not the increased prosperity, which is obvious, nor the increased freedom, which is also clear, but the fact that nine years ago this was a Soviet capital while today it is a world capital. It is no longer tense in defense of an ideology; it is a poised, sophisticated center where currents of life from all the earth converge.

Three great international congresses took place here in the first month of my stay. The end of July saw the Intl. Union of Architects, some 1,500 delegates from 45 countries, discussing town planning and housing projects. The first ten days of August brought the fifth conference of the Intl. Geophysical Year, where 450 top geophysicists from many nations reported on what the press called "the biggest scientific undertaking of all time."

By mid-August the flags of 35 nations flew over the great Moscow University as sign that more than 1,000 astronomers from 35 lands were convening in the Intl. Astronomical Union's assembly.

STEADY STREAM: These big congresses were dovetailed with the ease of a seasoned convention city. Several fine hotels have been built in recent years; they were alternately flooded on schedule by architects, geophysicists, astronomers.

It had seemed to me a major project to bring 250 visitors from Stockholm as guests of the Soviet Peace Committee for a fortnight. But we were a minor care of the Moscow hotels. There were also British and French mountaineers enroute to a peaceful conquest of Caucasus mountain peaks, some 71 educators from the U.S. who came to study the Soviet educational system, which is worrying the U.S. because of the quantity and quality of scientists it produces. There were British engineers, Indian textile workers, Yugoslav metal workers, and numerous motion picture folk passing through to a big Afro-Asian Film Festival of many nations in Tashkent.

Students for Soviet universities began to arrive in September. Some 1,300 students are enrolled this autumn from foreign lands in Soviet institutions of higher learning, 700 of them graduate students and 500 undergraduates. A student at Moscow U. told me they expected 30 to come from the U.S. this year for the first time in the cultural exchange.

BOTH SIDES LEARN: There is little direct propaganda in this great mixing of peoples.

Nonetheless there is plenty of "indirect propaganda" which Mr. Dulles may find as dangerous as he seemed to find the so-called "indirect aggression" in Lebanon. The geo-physicists make clear to the world that "the two chief events of the year" from their standpoint were the Joint Antarctic Exploration and the study of the upper atmosphere through the Sputniks. And if many nations can claim credit for the increased knowledge of the Antarctic, everyone knows that the U.S.S.R. stands first on Sputniks.

And while Soviet architects will without embarrassment tell the world that Soviet city planning has "until very recently been too ostentatious and ornate," it remains for an architect from the U.S. to admit that "private housing construction obstructs rational town planning wih us."

All this is reported in the Soviet press and the Russians, being serious newspaper readers, thus learn a lot about other lands. But education is a two-way street; the visitors learn a lot about the U.S.S.R.

CENTERS FOR EXCHANGE: There are three special places for the interchange of information. The great new Moscow University southwest of the city on Lenin Hills offers spacious halls and smaller rooms for conferences during summer vacation. The permanent Exposition Grounds north of the city is an amazing continuous show in 58 pavilions, set in miles of parks, of the ever-renewing achievements of the U.S.S.R.

Nestling in the center of town under the Kremlin, the old Tzars' Stable, which for a time was a garage for top officials, has become a central exposition hall for changing exhibits open to the public. In August it housed the traveling exhibit of the Architects Union on Town Planning in many lands, side by side with a very fine exhibit of Moscow's own city plan, done in such detail that any Muscovite could see the future of his area.

Nobody visiting the U.S.S.R. for even a fortnight can miss the powerful currents of life and progress. On one day in August the Intl. Fur Auction opens in Leningrad, to sell three million valuable pelts. Another day marks the opening of a direct airline to New Delhi, reaching there from Moscow in seven hours.

HERE TO STAY: Mr. Dulles will have to make up his mind to the fact that the U.S.S.R. is not disappearing as he wishes. The example and power of Soviet achievement is a factor which challenges dangerously all that Mr. Dulles hails as a way of life.

For when visitors to Moscow see great houses of 80 apartments going up in 45 days by pre-fabricated mass-production, which swings whole sections of wall and flights of stairs into position by cranes; when they see great hydro-electric projects like the Ankara Dam at Irkutsk and the Volga Dam at Kuibishef sending cheap public power to cities; when local airlines at Kharkhov commute to surrounding farms in minutes instead of the hours by train—then Moscow becomes a center that attracts the world.

Fifty years ago when my writing life began, London and Paris were such centers. Later the Washington-New York complex became the Mecca for the world. But, as Walter Lippmann notes, the American hegemony is a phase that is passing. Not yet do Americans realize how strongly life beats elsewhere without benefit of Washington.

Moscow, Peking, New Delhi are the new world centers, serving the world's main populations. Of these Moscow, in history the youngest, is today the older, most experienced exponent of the modern way of life they all desire.

NEXT WEEK: Moscow—and Asia.

MOSCOW BUILDS TO KEEP PACE WITH ITS NEW ROLE
The city attracts streams of life from all the earth

A DISSENT FROM ANNE BRADEN:

'There IS an Abolition movement in the South'

Anne Braden, author of the following letter, is a field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the author of the recently published The Wall Between *(Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y.C. 14, N.Y. $5). In a review in the GUARDIAN (July 28, 1958) Mrs. Braden's book was described as "far and away the finest book on the Southern integration crisis that has been written in the past decade or more."*

I HOPE YOU WILL allow me some space to comment on your edtorial of Sept. 1 entitled "The Times Cry Out for an Abolition Movement." I could not agree with that title more. I also heartily endorse certain other statements in the editorial. For example: "If the Federal Government can match the courage of the Negro children of Little Rock, the schools of Virginia and Arkansas will be kept open this September and some will be integrated."

Also, I only wish that more people in all parts of our country were more obviously in agreement with your statement that "there are many vital issues in the land but few are untouched by the issue of Abolition of jimcrow."

However, the main point of your editorial is, in my opinion, a fallacy—and a dangerous one. The general effect of it can only be to help discourage people in the North and West who hope that somebody in the South, white as well as Negro, is working to end jimcrow—and to help demoralize those in the South who are so working.

You say: "The times cry out for an

"SEARCH ME, O GOD, AND KNOW MY HEART: TRY ME, AND KNOW MY THOUGHTS: AND SEE IF THERE BE ANY WICKED WAY IN ME"
— PSALM 139:23,24
RACE PREJUDICE

Norfolk Journal and Guide
A prayer for these days

Abolition movement today, but there is none." This is simply not the case.

There IS an Abolitionist movement in the South today, among whites as well as Negroes. Certainly it is not as strong as many of us wish it were; it is not as unified and cohesive as we hope it will someday be. But it is there.

YOU ASK: "Where is there a white person of stature who will seek to achieve the single-mindedness of William Lloyd Garrison?" Leave out the matter of "stature" for a moment; this is a special problem. But there is scarcely a community of any size in the South where you cannot find at least some white people who are single-minded on this question. These people have made up their minds that the most urgent problem on this earth is on their doorstep, and that, whatever the cost, they are going to devote their lives to doing what they can to end segregation.

I can tell you of white ministers who have taken their stands without equivocation in the face of fury from part of their congregations; some have been driven from their pulpits but some have been able to fight it out and stay. I can tell you of people like a white mother in a Southern city, a city in turmoil, who publicly and without compromise supported the right of Negroes to attend a previously all-white school although she knew that her stand might cost her husband his job.

I can tell you of people like the white woman in a Virginia community, a pillar in her church, who stood up and told the congregation that if it decided to let its building be used for a private white-only school she was leaving the church. (That church, incidentally, will be ONE building not so used this fall—and my educated guess is that there will be many more. The Virginia Annual Conference of the Methodist Church voted to urge member churches not to allow their buildings to be used for this purpose.)

I can tell you of the many white people who have taken a position as firmly as Garrison ever did and, as a result, have had to leave the South because they saw no possible further way to make a living there. And of others, luckier ones, like the white social worker in a Deep South state who was fired from her state job for her interracial activities but is still in that state. She is working at a low-paid job in a different field but she is going to stay. She, like many others, is convinced that this struggle is THE great issue of her generation, that this is her place, and that she will not leave.

YOU SPEAK OF "STATURE." In some parts of the South, people of "stature" HAVE spoken—for instance, the 300 leading white ministers in Dallas who condemned segregation as "morally and spiritually wrong." But you must also remember that others who once had what I suppose you would call "stature" have lost it BECAUSE of their firm position on this issue. They lost it by the standards of the powers-that-be in their region—and, sadly enough, the national press often reflected this regional attitude by discounting them too.

For example, there are members of the so-called First Families of Virginia who once had an apparently unassailable prestige in that state, but they now have none because they followed their consciences on the question of integration.

There is the man in the Deep South who had perhaps more political prestige than anyone in his state and one day might well have been governor. He could not compromise on this issue and today his political prestige in the state is gone. But he is a 20th century Abolitionist in the truest sense of the word.

The supposition may be extreme, but I'll bet that if Senator Eastland came out for integration tomorrow his "stature" in Mississippi—after the first shock reaction was over—would be nil.

The thing that many integrationists in the South are striving to convince themselves of—and please don't discourage them—is that you DON'T have to be a person of "stature" to get things done. The Congress of Racial Equality makes this point very well in a recent pamphlet called "A First Step Toward School Integration." It says:

"Do not underestimate your own power.

Of course it would be fine if the most important people in town were active workers for desegregation. But there is little chance that they will be, so the victory depends on you. The less important people are often better able to reach and influence the parents."

This particular pamphlet is based on the Nashville school desegregation. "Less important" people worked effectively in Nashville; many are striving to do so elsewhere.

ACTUALLY, the "Abolition" movement in the South is developing on two levels. There is the part of the iceberg that you can see: the outspoken few who have managed to shout their views from the rooftops and have so far survived. And there is the submerged

ANNE BRADEN
She cites the record

part: almost an underground, in a sense, many people working quietly; the white churchwomen who calmly proceed with their interracial meetings despite protests from the community and sometimes from their husbands; the white YWCA workers who disregard the tumult and plan their interracial activities; white students in Mississippi who defy state ire to meet jointly with Negro students; people everywhere who are steadily eroding the soil that has nourished the roots of segregation while all around them the White Citizens Councils are shouting that it's eternal.

Martin Luther King summed up truly when he said: "While the reactionary guardians of the status quo are busy crying 'Never,' the system of segregation is crumbling all around them."

I'm sure that from where you sit it doesn't look that way because this movement is not yet strong enough to win elections in Arkansas or to vote out of office noisy officials in Virginia. But why do you think the segregationists are so desperate? Also, I don't think you were asking for a movement of numerical strength. The 19th century Abolitionist Movement didn't have that kind of strength either.

Much of the prevailing Northern opinion that no white integrationist movement exists in the South results from a blackout of this aspect of the struggle in most national publications. There are a few notable exceptions; for example, see the article entitled "The Story Nobody Tells You About the South" in the Sept. 1958 issue of **McCall's.** Generally, however, those of us who live and work down here have failed to get this part of the story out to the world, and this is our responsibility. The GUARDIAN, it has seemed to me, has done a better job than most publications in reporting positive developments in the white South.

LET ME MAKE IT very clear that I am not saying that white Southerners, any of us, are doing enough. I have never been one who maintained that we are, and I'm not now. I will continue to hold the conviction that if we want to live with ourselves we must find ways of doing more; I'll continue to say this to Southerners whenever and wherever I have the opportunity.

But it is also true that those who are working for integration in the South need much more help from those who live in the North and West. Southern integrationists need first of all to have more people elsewhere feel the urgency of the issue. Too often they find, when they go North or West to seek help, that people in those regions have too many other "irons in the fire," as you quote Garrison's friend as saying. Specifically, Southern integrationists need:

● For people in the North and West to persuade officials in Washington to take a stronger position on this question. Southerners who believe in integration don't see Washington as an "outsider;" they just wish Washington would give them more support. This goes for the President, the Congress and the Justice Dept. The Supreme Court has been the one branch of government that people in the South could rely on in recent years, and there is some fear in liberal quarters in the South that even the Court will begin to back off unless public opinion all over the country makes itself felt more strongly than it is now.

● For the people in the North to give financial support to groups working for integration. I happen to work for one of these organizations, the Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc., and it will be glad to receive your contributions at 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La. But, lest this sound too much like a specialized fund appeal, or if you don't care for the Southern Conference, there are other organizations doing good work in the South and who always need financial support: the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Regional Council, Koinonia Farms, Highlander Folk School, to mention only a few. Many people in the South feel that more of their friends elsewhere should, to use a Southern expression, "put their money where their mouth is."

MOST OF ALL, don't do hundreds of white Southerners who are daily risking everything in the new Abolitionist movement the injustice of looking at the South and acting as if they are invisible. The White Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan, Eastland, the Un-American Committee and such people as Governor Griffin of Georgia don't agree with you.

—Anne Braden

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BOOKS

'Zhivago': a humanitarian voice

IT IS UNFORTUNATE that Boris Pasternak's **Dr. Zhivago*** appears at the wrong time in the wrong place and will be used for the wrong purpose. Though it is a weighty tome it was not meant to be thrown as a missile in the cold war. To so use this lyrical and tender novel is as much a crime against art as book burning.

Yet that is the purpose to which the book is being put and it must be conceded that, in the context of our time, it lends itself to it.

Boris Pasternak is one of the Soviet Union's great poets and was one of its leading literary figures until 1933. Under heavy politico-literary criticism he retired from original writing and devoted himself to translations, earning fame for his version of Shakespeare. **Dr. Zhivago,** his first major original work in decades, was announced for publication in the Soviet Union in 1954.

WHILE PUBLICATION there was indefinitely postponed, a copy of the manuscript was sent to an Italian publisher who brought it out last year despite pleas from the Soviet Union to send it back for revisions. It thus broke upon the Western world blessed by Soviet disapproval and therefore automatically assured of critical handsprings. At once it was celebrated as a political exposé.

It is actually not a political work at all. Zhivago is an intellectual, a humanitarian, a poet as well as a doctor, and this is the story of how he lived and died in the first half of the 20th century. He glows in the pre-revolutionary ferment, yearns for the liberating wind of the revolution, then experiences its tempests, sees the war, revolt, civil war, encirclement.

Historians have chronicled these events from a mountain top. Dr. Zhivago and Pasternak and millions of Russians saw it from down below in the muck. They counted the cost in corpses, in shattered lives, in intellectual compromises. But the balance sheet is wholly credible. Who can doubt that in the civil war, in any civil war, atrocities answered atrocities, terror stamped out terror? Who doubts that in that storm, foolish, vain, arrogant men often rose to the surface and good men went under? Certainly Russians know these things.

RUSSIANS CAN read this book in its proper context, without despair, seeing the other side of the ledger, knowing that out of the blood and tragedy has come a society which, with all its imperfection and abuses, has meant an incomparably better life. For them the book would be the living, breathing account of their times, the monumental tragedy apparently required for monumental victory. They would understand it, but unfortunately they cannot read it for it is not yet published in Russian.

On the other hand the average American or British reader sees in this book the horrors of building socialism and does not know what the final structure is like. It is as if he had read of the burning of Atlanta without knowing that the Union had been preserved and the slaves emancipated.

Cold-war politics aside, Dr. Zhivago can and should be read on other levels. It is a panoramic novel in the 19th century Russian manner. Its characters strike Victorian postures. Adolescents faint. A girl on being seduced tells herself that she is now a "fallen woman." The plot is furthered by astonishing coincidences which may occur in life but are too far-fetched for 20th Century fiction. Still, the story is engrossing.

THE FACE OF WAR
An anti-Bomb poster by Swiss artist Hans Erni. Although its display is forbidden in Switzerland, it was shown at a recent festival in Paris and is now being circulated in post-card form.

THE BOOK'S outstanding merit is not its construction, however, but the rich imagery of its writing, the musical passages which evoke scenes and moods in masterful, luminous poetry.

On another level, **Dr. Zhivago** is a novel of ideas. Victorian-minded Russians are introspective and philosophical. They toss up provocative ideas the way characters in 20th Century American novels sling four-letter expletives.

A typical Zhivago idea seeks to reconcile Marxian dialectics with Christian morality: "What you don't understand is that it is possible to be an atheist, it is possible not to know whether God exists, or why, and yet believe that man does not live in a state of nature but in history, and that history as we know it now began with Christ, and that Christ's Gospel is its foundation." For Pasternak, the primary element of the Gospel is: "Love of one's neighbor."

ANOTHER FAR LESS significant idea presents a kind of pro-Semitism that could be capable of turning into its opposite. One character repeatedly says in effect that Jews are such marvelous people that they ought to forget all their antiquated Jewishness and become marvelous Russians.

Zhivago makes one telling and typical comment on a pro-Bolshevik general who has ruthlessly stamped out the ruthless White Guards: "And if he were really to do good, he would have needed, in addition to his principles, a heart capable of violating them—a heart which knows only of particular, not of general, cases, and which achieves greatness in little actions."

BORIS PASTERNAK
'Love of one's neighbor'

Zhivago looked for saints among revolutionaries and of course, found none. If the Revolution had been left to Zhivago and his saints there might well still be a Tzar in Russia. Yet the voice of the humanitarian may be needed in the chorus of those who sing only anthems. It affirms the value of human life and in this book it sings eloquently.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

* *DOCTOR ZHIVAGO, by Boris Pasternak. Pantheon Books, Inc., N.Y. 558 pp. $5.*

A SYMPOSIUM ON FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. course seen tending to catastrophe

THE UNITED STATES is now entangled in courses of military and foreign policy which appear to tend only toward eventual catastrophe." With this sentence—which might aptly characterize Washington's current adventure in the Formosa Strait—military analyst and historian Walter Millis begins his first of two major articles in **Foreign Policy and the Free Society***, a symposium published by the Fund for the Republic. John Courtney Murray, S. J., professor of theology at Woodstock College, Md., contributes the other article.

This provocative and illuminating book also includes an abridged version of "conversations" of other participants in the symposium, held during the winter and spring of 1957-58 under the chairmanship of the Fund's director, Robert M. Hutchins.

The views of Millis and Murray clash on almost every important aspect of the subject discussed. The views of the others fall in between, although none veer to the extreme position taken by the Jesuit professor. In actual discussion, the broad scope indicated by the title narrows down to U.S. relations with the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

MILLIS HOLDS that "the speeches of our statesmen and arguments of our publicists" have persuaded Americans to assume that "the greatest peril confronting their society is that of military attack, which the Soviet Union may launch upon us (or upon our allies)" the moment it feels strong enough to do so without fear of "catastrophic reprisal."

To make the reprisal certain, the U.S. has surrounded the U.S.S.R. with bases armed with thermo-nuclear bombs, stimulating Moscow to develop IRBM's to render the bases ineffective. This process has provoked an arms race under which "we must expect a steady erosion of the personal and political liberties traditional in our free society" without bringing any "compensatory strength to our foreign policies."

Millis believes that the basic premises were faulty. He suggests that Americans should first realize that "in confronting the Russian super-power, the U.S. is dealing with the effects of an enduring social revolution . . . as irreversible as were the French or the American revolutions." He disagrees with Secy. Dulles' contention that the Soviet Union is "implacably aggressive" and is "incapable of making peace." Millis finds that Washington's attempts at "containment seems not to be containing."

WHILE OFFERING no panacea, Millis sides with those who are "willing to explore the possibilities of peace or accommodation" with Moscow, not with those who begin "with a denial that peace is possible." He urges that "we be willing to take at least the same risks for peace that we normally take for guaranteeing victory in war."

Father Murray agrees with Winston Churchill's view that the Russians are a "formless, quasi-Asiatic mass beyond the walls of European civilization" and "inherently aggressive" in intent. However, he believes that in fear of reprisal Moscow will try to expand its influence by following "a policy of maximum security and minimum risk." He therefore urges limited wars and sustained pressure against Moscow, a U.S. policy envisaging "a minimum of security and a maximum of risk." As an example, he thinks the U.S. might have safely indulged in "what I call nicely calculated military intervention" in Hungary.

During the "conversations" Millis and other participants—among whom were publisher Henry Luce, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and a number of professors from various universities—shot Murray's theories full of holes. Pressured by them to document his allegations against the Soviet Union, Murray on several occasions retreated behind the shield of his "intuition."

SUGGESTIONS by other participants for resolving the U.S.-U.S.S.R. impasse range from a Washington-Moscow treaty "covering all outstanding issues" to abjuring the principle of the cold war and finding "some way of co-existing with or tolerating socialist revolutions all over the world."

While, as the chairman notes, during the symposium there were "disagreements on many points, consensus on a few, and no conclusions," it was, as even Father Murray agreed, "a contribution to public understanding."

—**K. G.**

* *FOREIGN POLICY AND THE FREE SOCIETY, Walter Millis and John Murray, S.J., and Nine Discussants. Published by Oceana Publications for the Fund for the Republic, 60 E. 42nd St., New York 17. 116 pp. $1.*

Registrations open for social science classes

ADVANCE REGISTRATION will be taken all during the week beginning Mon., Sept. 29, for the new classes being offered by The Faculty of Social Science at their new headquarters, 80 E. 11th St. The Fall Term will open on Mon., Oct. 6, and continue through Fri., Nov. 21, with classes meeting once weekly, for seven sessions, at 6:30 or 8:30 p.m. Fee for each course is $6. No more than 25 students will be accepted in each class.

Among the prominent instructors are: Herbert Aptheker, Victor Perlo, Harry K. Wells, and Sidney Finkelstein, authors respectively of **To Be Free, American Imperialism, Process and Unreality**, and **Art and Society**. They will teach two or more courses each, including "Human Freedom," "Capitalist Crisis," "Marxist Philosophy," and 'A Social View of Music." Other courses will also be offered in economics, history, the arts, philosophy, and Marxist theory; and a weekly Review of the Week will feature guest lecturers.

PRICES REACH ALL-TIME HIGH

Inflation jitters plague Washington

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE COLD WAR has brought about an unprecedented economic situation—one which the U.S. has never before had to face. Its problems are only beginning to dawn upon us.

After every war in our history, up to World War II, inflation caused by armed conflict has been followed by drastic deflation. There has been none since World War II; and today the danger of serious continued inflation stares us squarely in the face. Yet there is no shortage of goods and services, which usually accompanies inflation.

For the last two years, with the rising emphasis upon Cold War expenditures, consumer prices have been creeping slowly upward; and now they have reached the highest point ever known, although the consumer price index is expected to come down slightly soon.

At the same time unemployment remains at around 5,000,000, and it looks as though there might be substantial recovery from the present recession with a large reservoir of jobless men and women as a semi-permanent feature of our economy.

PURCHASING POWER: One of the amazing facts is that purchasing power of the people, taken as a whole, has remained at a very high level. Labor income in July, despite massive unemployment, was officially estimated at an annual rate of $251.4 billion, $1.8 billion higher than a year earlier when it was at its previously all-time peak. In the same period "transfer payments," which include pensions, social security, and unemployment compensation, rose to an annual rate of $26.5 billion, up $4.8 billion. In July total personal income was at a new high annual rate of $358.9 billion, and probably due to climb higher. It looks as though the people of the U.S. have more money to spend than ever before.

And the money supply in recent years has been augmented by about $5 billion a year to meet the needs of growing population and expanding industry. This year to date there has been an extraordinary increase—more than $10 billion since the first of the year. And more is ahead, for the Government faces a deficit for the fiscal year of something like $10 billion to $12 billion. Deficit financing usually means the creation of more money, and that is inflationary.

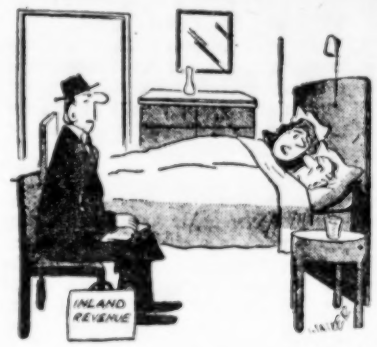
HIGH FIXED CHARGES: There is another reason for anticipating inflation. The vast expansion in plant and equipment since the war has meant increased fixed charges for productive industry. These continue, whether sales increase or decrease.

The slump in industrial production has meant that a smaller volume of production must bear a heavier burden of fixed charges. In order to maintain profits and dividends, great pressure upon management to increase prices has developed.

Great pressure also has developed to increase the productivity of labor by taking advantage of automation and other improvements in production practices. If this creates a pool of unemployed workers, many manufacturers will not be disappointed—it favors them in collective bargaining.

CONSUMER SPENDING HIGH: About a year ago there were signs of a buyers' strike against the continued upward creep in the cost of living. This faded. One of the crucial questions now is whether increased government spending will be accompanied by an increase in private spending. If it is not, a situation could develop which would blight the inflation expectation of investors, and bring about a crash in common stock prices. Crashes in the stock market are welcomed by no one, except those with plenty of unemployed cash.

At the moment, however, it looks as though the recession were coming to an end without any important adjustment in prices.



London Evening Standard
"For goodness sake, pay him the installment and let's get some sleep."

COLLISION NEAR: There appears to be shaping up a great conflict between the forces that brought about passage of the Employment Act of 1946, which established a national economic policy calling for full employment, and the forces which desperately oppose all government expenditures, except for munitions, and all controls of interest rates, prices, or production.

The tensions are growing. But very few are confident as to how the cat will jump—just what economic events will start serious trouble. Never was there more uncertainty on the part of the best informed economists.

Little Rock

(Continued from Page 1)

er Negroes were the mental equals of whites because "I don't know much about IQ's."

Faubus' call for a quick election and the unfolding of the private school gimmick spurred Little Rock moderates into action. A 50-member Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools launched a campaign to turn out a majority of the district's eligible voters to vote "for racial integration" on Sept. 27. Headed by Mrs. Joe B. Brewer, a prominent community leader, the Committee pointed out that the "private" schools would be immediately subjected to law suits which would force them to close again. It stated that "schools operated on a private basis would be deprived of all Federal aid, school lunch programs, accreditation, interscholastic athletic competition, and eligibility for college scholarships."

Mrs. Brewer made it plain that the group sees as its main task influencing citizens to vote for integration even though they may be opposed to it. She told the GUARDIAN: "We are now concerned neither with perpetuating segregation in our schools nor hastening integration. Our aim is to get our four high schools open and we see no other solution."

"NO MORE DRIVER'S LASH FOR ME"
Moments after Johnny Gray, 15, pointed a warning finger, he chased two white boys who tried to force him and sister, Mary, off Little Rock sidewalk.

CHURCHMEN ATTACKED: A group of Presbyterian clergymen who had expressed their opposition to Faubus' closing of the schools drew the Governor's ire at a press conference and sharpened the battle lines of the community: Faubus said: "I am aware that a large number of ministers of the Presbyterian church have been very effectively brainwashed." When asked by whom, he replied: "The left-wingers and the Communists." The ministers responded by charging the Governor with name-calling and slander and urging him to consider countermanding his school-closing proclamation. The next day five Methodist ministers of North Little Rock asked Faubus to apologize to their Presbyterian colleagues, but made no recommendation on the school-integration issue.

The segregationists were themselves not slow in organizing committees. A Save Our Schools Committee took ads in the Little Rock papers and called upon political and church leaders and white parents to bring pressure on the Negro parents and Mrs. L. C. Bates, NAACP state president, to withdraw the Negro children from Central High School. Mrs. Bates responded: "Whenever the schools open our children will be there."

Student opposition to the school-closing took organized form when 65 white students of Hall High School met and voted, 63-2, for re-opening the schools, "even if they have to be integrated." Faubus, when informed of the development as he journeyed to the Southern Governors Conference at Lexington, Ky., commented that 65 did not seem like a massive number. Nevertheless, the implication remained that the vote was representative of the sentiment of a majority of white students who want the schools to open and stay open and who see integration as a secondary question.

APPLY FOR TRANSFERS: Two hundred and ten students applied for transfers from the closed schools, 130 from Hall and 80 from Central. The number increased daily as students sought to enter school in nearby cities.

A group of 31 Little Rock lawyers joined in a statement Sept. 19 declaring Faubus' private-school plan illegal. "A limited integrated school system pursuant to court orders is distasteful to many in our group," they said, "but the alternative of no public school system is even more distasteful." The group included the leaders of the state and county bar associations.

The Arkansas **Gazette** emphasized that the Sept. 27 election "can provide no answer to Mr. Faubus' real dilemma: how he is going to get the schools reopened and evade the federal laws which he is pledged not to accept."

VAN BUREN: Meanwhile, in Van Buren Ark., U.S. District Judge John E. Miller denied an NAACP request for an injunction directing the school board to resume integration. He accepted the school board's assurance that it could maintain discipline, however, and on the strength of this assurance 11 of 17 Negro students of Van Buren High and Jr. High schools returned to classes on Sept. 22.

They had left the school when a minority of about 75 white students cut classes and launched a series of anti-Negro demonstrations. Judge Miller made it plain to the school board that if it could not maintain order in the integrated school it had the right to appeal to the court for an injunction against the trouble-makers.

Williams in Baltimore Afro American
Just turn the sign around!

Rev. Kraft to report on U.S.S.R. tour in Chicago

REV. VIRGIL A. KRAFT of Chicago's People's Church, recently returned from a lecture tour in the Soviet Union, will report on his visit Fri. eve., Oct. 10, at 32 W. Randolph, Chicago, Hall B-3, under auspices of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The clergyman's lecture will include color films and slides, tape recordings of discussions and church choirs in the U.S.S.R. Admission is 90 cents.

The Kraft lecture is part of the Chicago Committee's program of activities surrounding the 25th anniversary of the start of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., on Nov. 16, 1933.

Hall in Los Angeles Mirror-News
"We can't let education interfere with prejudice."

China crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

withdraw from Quemoy; his representative in Washington, George Yeh, insisted that Chiang's forces in Quemoy "could hold out forever," and said in quite un-Chinese language: "Demilitarization [of Quemoy], I think, is nuts."

There were reports of swift and extraordinary concentration of U.S. might on Formosa and on nearby U.S. bases. The Air Force was said to have dispatched substantial numbers of B-66 light bombers, B-57 reconnaissance bombers, C-130 transport planes and F-86 Sabrejets to Formosa and to such bases as Clark Field in the Philippines.

THE FLEET: It was rotating F-100 and F-86 fighters and fighter-bombers from other Pacific bases to Formosa, which already possessed Matador ground-to-ground missiles and the Nike-Hercules ground-to-air missiles and supersonic planes capable of delivering atomic weapons stockpiled on Formosa and aboard ships of the U. S. Seventh Fleet. The fleet had six aircraft carriers with full complements of fighters, fighter-bombers and missiles, three heavy cruisers and about 40 destroyers, making it—as the N.Y. **Times** said—"the biggest force the Navy has built up since the Korean war [with] more destructive power than any other in history."

Increasingly the feeling was spreading throughout the world that Secy. Dulles has decided to confront Peking with what he considered overwhelming might to force it to back down or suffer consequences of a nuclear war. Dulles believed that the Peking government was only a bad dream that would vanish with the appearance of nuclear-armed U.S. forces.

Herblock in Washington Post

CONVOY

However, he was apparently prepared to face the monstrous alternative of war. As the London **New Statesman** said:

"Should China force him to carry out his threats, he believes there is a strong chance that Russia will abandon her ally and that, after a sharp nuclear onslaught, the stability of desolation will descend on the area."

STRONG WARNINGS: But both Peking and Moscow have given unmistakable warning to the contrary. In a dispatch from Peking to the London **Daily Mirror**, Richard Crossman reported two weeks ago what he was told by Chinese leaders:

"This is America's last chance. By offering to negotiate, Premier Chou En-lai has proved China's desire for peace. He has also given President Eisenhower an opportunity to withdraw honorably from a completely untenable position . . . If American forces involve themselves in this purely Chinese affair, the sole responsibility for the war that results will rest on the American government."

Hoping that "the Americans do not write these warnings off as bluff," Crossman emphasized that the Chinese leaders were "in earnest when they say they are willing to negotiate a peaceful takeover of the offshore islands" and equally "in earnest when they say openly that if negotiation fails they will use force." Crossman added that "if America blunders into war it will be faced with a nation" ready to defend the Chinese revolution against the hated "imperialists."

ANGRY EXCHANGE: Last week, Soviet Premier Khrushchev repeated in the bluntest possible manner his earlier warning that "an attack on the People's Republic of China is an attack on the Soviet Union." He urged the withdrawal of the U.S. fleet from Formosa Strait and of U.S. forces from Formosa. He said that a war against Peking would "spark off the conflagration of a world war" which would be "condemned unanimously by the peoples of the world, including, I am sure, the American people."

President Eisenhower angrily returned the letter to Khrushchev as "unacceptable." But the American people gave signs of slowly realizing the gravity of the situation, though they still remained confused about the basic issues involved. Former Sen. Herbert Lehman, for example, joined Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) and former Secy. of State Dean Acheson in calling the conflict over the offshore islands "part of the long-standing civil war between the Communist regime and that of Chiang Kai-shek," and said "we have no international right to commit our armed forces to the defense of these islands." Former State Dept. authority George F. Kennan said Quemoy was "very much an internal Chinese problem."

N.Y. **Herald Tribune** Washington correspondent Rowland Evans Jr. reported: "The overwhelming sentiment against the Quemoy policy now being reflected in mail to the U.S. Senate leaves no doubt how majority opinion stands. It is hostile." Checking the letters to two Democratic and two Republican Senators in ten days, he found:

"Sen. Case of New Jersey, who attracts mail from East coast Eisenhower-Republicans, 35 letters, all opposed to U.S. involvements over Quemoy; Sen. Kennedy, 190 letters, all but three against the present policy; Sen. Douglas, one of the Democrats supporting the President, a ratio of 50 to one against the present policy, and Sen. Knowland, the foremost patron of a tough Far Eastern policy, 25 letters against the Administration's position and seven in favor."

THE NEED: Evans added: "This mail, . . . picked much at random, reveals none of the tell-tale signs of an organized pressure campaign. It has the authentic flavor of the man in the street."

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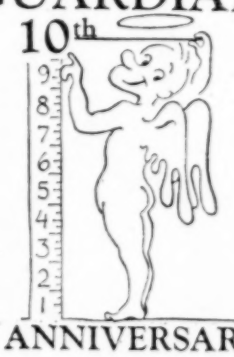

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CALENDAR

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FAROLE DINNER for Gil Green & Henry Winston, Sun., Oct. 5, 5 p.m., Hamilton Hotel. Famous folk-singer Osborne Smith. Res. $5 person from Rev. Wm. T Baird, Secy. Parole Dinner Comm., P.O.B. 5270, Chicago; IR 8-5511.

SOVIET PIANIST VLADIMIR ASHKENAZY—Sun., Oct. 19, 3:30 p.m., Orchestra Hall. Choice seats from Chi. Coun. of Amer.-Sov. Friendship, Suite 1102, 32 W. Randolph, AN 3-1877. Tickets: $5, $4, $3, $2.

PETE SEEGER AT ORCHESTRA HALL Sat., Oct. 25 8:30 p.m. Choice seats from Chi. Coun. of Amer.-Sov. Friendship Suite 1102, 32 W. Randolph, AN 3-1877. — $4.40, $3.30, $2.20.

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LOS ANGELES

"INTEGRATION & THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY." Among the speakers will be **HARRY KOGER,** staff writer of SOUTHERN NEWS LETTER, Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m., 1004 Echo Park Av. (Lions Club). Ausp: Guardian Readers Club.

SEATTLE

PANEL DISCUSSION on **RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW.** Speakers: Stuart Oles, attorney for "Minute Men For Freedom & 202", Ed Weston, Wash. State Pres. A.F. of L., Jack Wright, United Liberals & Socialists candidate for state senator 37th district, and veteran unionist. Fri., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. Marine Firemen's Hall, 2333 Western Av. Ausp: American Forum for Socialist Education, Seattle Chapter, Dr. J. W. Friedman, Chairman.

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Sane Nuclear group to meet in Chelsea

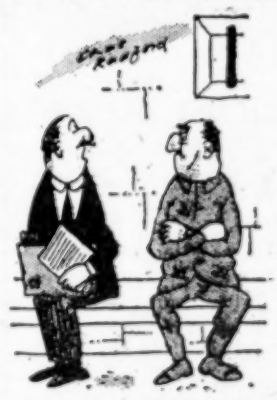
A MEETING TO FORM a Sane Nuclear Policy Committee in Chelsea will be held at the McBurney Y.M.C.A., 215 W. 23 St., Friday, Sept. 26, at 8:15 p.m., in room 103.

The SANE organization is now urging support for permanent banning of tests and for the international control of nuclear weapons, to save humanity from the horrors of nuclear warfare. The meeting is open to the general public.

THE GALLERY

CARD-CARRYING MEMBERS of the American Legion call one another "comrade." In order not to be confused with another organization, the Mississippi Legion recently changed the salutation to "legionnaire." . . . The State Dept. informed the Colombo Tea Traders Assn. in Ceylon that American tea buyers cannot accept tea shipped in chests made in China . . . Charlie Chaplin's **The Great Dictator** will be shown in Berlin next week for the first time . . . To some, Generalissimo Trujillo might qualify as the modern "great dictator," but to Sen. Eastland Trujillo is "one of the great men of the modern world." He told the Dominican legislature that because of Trujillo, the Dominican Republic is "leader of all Latin America—you lead for freedom; you lead for honor; you lead for religion; and thank God you lead for common sense." . . . Someone clipped an ad in the New York **Times** for a "marriage manual" and sent it to the publisher, Simon and Schuster, inscribed: "Too much emphasis on sex. Get a new idea. Everyone is tired of this stuff."

WHEN THE ACTOR'S WORKSHOP of San Francisco left last week for Brussels to perform at the World's Fair, stage manager James A. Kershaw was forced to stay home. The State Dept., which pays part of the expenses of the trip, refused to pass Kershaw. Although no official reason was given, Herbert Blau, director of the Workshop, believed he was rejected because he is "politically and socially a liberal" and had once taken a course at the California Labor Schol.



London Daily Mirror

"As your lawyer, the best advice I can give you is—try to escape."

Incensed at the State Dept. action, the cast went through with the trip because of a responsibility to the San Francisco people who had raised $9,000 for them. Workshop actress Mone Scheyer said: "I hope the publicity from this incident helps establish in the State Dept. some useful views on the rights of citizens."

The Workshop will perform its version of **Waiting for Godot** (for which Kershaw is given much credit) which has received enthusiastic notices. When the trip was arranged last Spring, the State Dept. warned the group not to perform any play by Arthur Miller.

PATRICK "BUTCH" HALLINAN was declared unfit to serve in the armed forces last week because of a "close and continuing association with two persons identified with Communist-front organizations"—his mother and father. "Butch" is a straight A student at the University of California, captain of the boxing team, president of the Circle C Society and member of two honor committees named by the school president. . . . At a "Space Convention" on his 100-acre farm in Lebanon, N.J., Howard Menger told an audience of 1,000 how flying saucers pick him up regularly and chauffeur him on joy-rides to the moon and Venus and back home. His wife told the same group about her book describing her love affair with a man from Saturn. In the crowd hawkers sold hula hoops re-labeled "space rings." . . . In London George King reports a message he got from Mars warning of "instant retaliation" from the Martians if an earth rocket hurts anyone living on the moon.

ECONOMIST ROGER BABSON thinks Eisenhower's speech on the Quemoy crisis presages an economic boom. He reasons that if China does not mend her ways there will be a naval war in the Formosa Strait, which might not be so bad because "we could carry on naval warfare without disturbing domestic affairs—that is, without the need for gasoline-rationing, wage controls, price-fixing and other restrictive nuisances. In fact, such naval warfare could materially eliminate, for the present, the business depression; it could be a boom for the Administration and the Republicans in this fall's election." In light of this, he asks: "Can anyone afford to be bearish today?" . . . Charles G. Mortimer, president of General Foods Corp., is full of bullish optimism apart from the prospect of war. He thinks the fear was taken out of recession by the Madison Av. "Confidence in a Growing America" campaign. He says: "The psychological information campaign of the Advertising Council can be viewed as a vaccine of public confidence which we have discovered to take the terror out of recessions." Now that the terror is gone, maybe they can take out the unemployment.

"UNDER PREVAILING GOVERNMENT DOMINATION," Otto Garr Tague, King Features writer, asks, "what chance would a Henry Ford have to accumulate a fortune at a net profit of one dollar per car? . . . What incentive would he and Mrs. Ford have for all the heart-breaking hours they worked in their kitchen to perfect that little engine?" . . . Anyone interested in second-hand Univacs can get them from Remington Rand at 50% discount off their $1,000,000 price . . . One of the most popular TV shows in Poland is called: "What's My Profession?" . . . William Mandel is conducting a TV show on KQED in San Francisco called: "What the Russians Are Told"—a review of Soviet periodicals. He runs a similar program on KPFA, a Berkeley FM radio station which will soon be heard on WBAI-FM in New York Saturdays at 5:45 . . . **Reynolds News** in London reports that about 70 Hungarian refugees are returning home every month.

—**Robert E. Light**

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the SPECTATOR

Buchenwald unforgotten

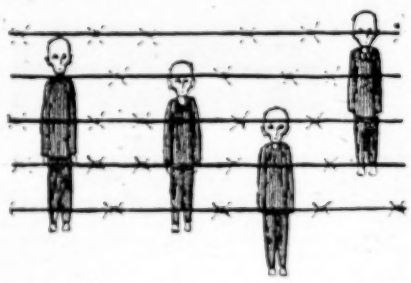
(Peggy Middleton, the author of the following article, is a Labor member of the London County Council.)

WEIMAR, GERMANY

IN THE THIRTIES there came to my home in England men who had escaped from Hitler Germany—men who told of unbelievable brutalities that even their friends suspected might be exaggerations.

On Sept. 14, 1958, at Buchenwald, nearly 70,000 of the living came to pay homage to the victims of fascist terror; 18,000 of them came in buses through antique Weimar up the hill past Blood Alley to where the 160-foot tower stands as a solid memorial to the dead.

I stood beside Resistance heroes on the parapet looking across to where two circular walls now surround the two mass grave pits where the bones of 10,000 nameless dead were thrown. Among the silent crowd the blue scarves of the youth stood out, and here and there a striped prison cap worn without ostentation by men who had come through the horrors to build a new world. They had come to pay their respects to the 55,000 of their comrades who had died in Buchenwald.



I DON'T SPEAK GERMAN, but it was clear from the serious mood that President Grotewohl's speech reminded everybody that fascism is neither dead nor sleeping. I had come from a London where Mosley's fascists had just successfully stirred up "feckless" British youth to make this time not Jews, but Negroes, the excuse for violence. In the hotel in Weimar I had already met Germans from the Western sector who see their former torturers not only still living comfortably, but gaining in influence.

As spokesmen from each country came forward to speak, little groups drew closer together in the tightly-packed crowd as their dead were specially remembered, and they held elaborate wreaths or simple bundles of country flowers brought long distances. Later they could place them at the mouths of the crematorium ovens where the remains of their own people were last seen whole.

There were many old and many prematurely-aged men and there were young children brought by grandmothers so that they might hear and share the pledge spoken by distinguished German actor Wolfgang Langhoff (himself a Buchenwald prisoner), at the place where their grandfathers had been murdered.

THE CEREMONY WOULD HAVE BEEN one of unbearable depression or even morbid interest—but there was none of either. When the pigeons loosed from the tower top had gone and the crowd began to move away, a little gnome of a man with a fine forehead and mischievous smile passed through the tower doors to stand before the bronze plaque in the center of the floor below which ashes of the dead from all the camps have now been placed. That was Prof. Bartel, who was head of the Resistance movement of prisoners **inside** Buchenwald.

A woman in a summer frock with a pale face, gentle and quiet, moved past. She survived Ravensbruck to become an invalid and her husband's bones lie in Dachau. A jolly ginger-haired priest with heavily scarred face joined an Orthodox Jew who had survived seven camps. And the impression they all gave? One of quiet invincible determination. I was with two other members of the London Labor Party—men not easily impressed—but they were.

Much later, when the crowds had thinned, we looked at the 12 stone representations of the lives of prisoners, from their entry into the camp to the day when the survivors took over from their terror-stricken S.S. guards and joined hands in solidarity with the allied troops and then on through the Street of the Nations.

With French and Chinese and Russians we went to the camp itself—part of which still remains, so that we shall all remember.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE to write of this day with snappy sentences or pretty words or neat descriptions of the plan of the Memorial. It is only possible to be humble before such sacrifices, to keep quiet in the places where tortured men kept silent for their comrades' sake and, above all, above everything, to promise myself that there shall be neither war nor fascism again. This means no Notting Hill in England and no Little Rock in America and no neutrality where fascism threatens to gain the smallest foothold.

You can't keep quiet and not get involved this time—and please, my American friends, it is later than you think.

—Peggy Middleton

Classes for teen-agers in L.A. Jewish school

PROGRESSIVE JEWISH education for teen-agers is available in Los Angeles and vicinity through the Committee for the Los Angeles Mittelshule. Previous education in Jewish schools is not prerequisite. Major attention is given to Jewish history and literature, with emphasis on the human and social factors. There is discussion of current events and study of the Yiddish language for both beginners and advanced students. There is also group-singing and a social club that plans parties and outings.

Those interested may obtain further information by phoning: WE 3-0526, or NO 2-8239 in Los Angeles.